Jennings Perry on The Bible Blitz, See Page 4

I. F. Stone's Weekly

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The Jenner Report and The Panicky Liberals

The effect of the Jenner committee report on *Interlocking Subversion in Government Departments* is to represent the New Deal and the Fair Deal as a vast Communist conspiracy.

"They" were everywhere. "When the principal concern of Government was economic recovery," the report says, "they were in the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, the Works Progress Administration, the National Recovery Administration . . . During the war, they joined such wartime agencies as the Board of Economic Warfare . . . Toward the end of the war they were operating in the foreign policy field . . . They colonized key committees of Congress. They helped write laws, conduct Congressional hearings, and write Congressional reports. They advised Cabinet members . . . They staffed interdepartmental committees which prepared basic American and world policy. They travelled to every continent as emissaries and representatives of the American people. They attended virtually every international conference where statesmen met to shape the future."

The Eisenhower Administration is also suspect. "They" are still around. The report says, "The Soviet international organization has carried on a successful and important penetration of the United States government and this penetration has not been fully exposed." Though the Republicans are in power, "policies and programs laid down by members of this Soviet conspiracy are still in effect within our government and constitute a continuing hazard to our national security."

The reverberations may already be heard in the rightist press. "There are at least 10,000 Communists or fellow travellers, many in sensitive spots, on the Federal payroll at this moment," Lee Mortimer breathlessly announced in his Hearst newspaper column, *New York Confidential,* last week. "Ike, what are you going to do about it?"

Wall Street Suspect, Too

One of Eisenhower's closest advisers, John J. Mc Cloy, is deftly sideswiped by the report. It digs up a War Department directive of 1944 and some Mc Cloy testimony of 1945 to show "Army tolerance of Communists." Mc Cloy was then Assistant Secretary of War, and the testimony may be intended to embarrass him, for it shows a calmly judicial view of the Red Menace. The effect is to create distrust of Republicans as well as Democrats, for the War Department then was under Stimson and Patterson, both Republicans.

The tide of slander here begins to lap at one of Wall Street's most respectable doorsteps. Mc Cloy, a corporation lawyer by profession, conservative and Republican, is now chairman of the board of Chase National Bank. He has been mentioned as possible successor to John Foster Dulles as Secretary of State. Obviously the witch hunters are also gunning for the civilized wing of the Republican party. This is a good point at which to recall that the chairman of the committee which released this report is the same Senator Jenner who smeared General Marshall.

Where Was The FBI?

The most serious charge made in this report is that "Thousands of diplomatic, military, scientific and economic secrets of the United States have been stolen by Soviet agents in our government and other persons closely connected with the Communists." If this is true, then the various secret police agencies of this government, notably the FBI, were criminally inefficient.

A footnote on page 25, says, "The sub-committee learned during this series of hearings that the Federal Bureau of Investigation had received derogatory security information and had conducted investigations during 1941 and 1942 on Alger Hiss, Harry Dexter White, Harry Magdoff, Maurice Halperin, and Harold Glasser." War-time statutes and regulations were in effect. The FBI was tapping wires by special permission of the Attorney General in such cases. Mail was covered.

The "derogatory security information" if true, represented valuable "tips" to a secret police. Many means of surveillance were at its disposal. The report says, "There is ample evidence" that the FBI learned "the underlying facts of the Communist conspiracy" and informed administrative agencies. "It is the function of the Federal Bureau of Investigation," the report goes on, "to uncover and compile security information and make it available, without evaluation and without recommendation, to the proper executive agencies. The FBI cannot expose and cannot force action once it has reported the results of its investigation."

Were The Attorneys General at Fault?

This implies that the FBI uncovered evidence of wrongdoing but that the Department of Justice declined to take action. The main responsibility would rest on the Attorneys General of this period, first Jackson and then Biddle. If all this miasma of suspicion were really to be conscientiously investigated by a body with powers of subpoena, one of its earliest moves would be to determine (1) just what the FBI found and (2) if it found evidence of crime, why no action was taken by the Department of Justice.

I do not believe that men of the calibre of Jackson and Biddle would have ignored, or that any Attorney General would dare ignore, evidence that secret government documents were being stolen by officials and transmitted to a foreign power.

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The "derogatory information" to be encountered in loyalty cases has usually been of quite a different character. Radical views, associations and affiliations are not proof of crime. The report says, for example, "In the case of this subcommittee's inquiry into American citizens at the United Nations, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, in virtually all the 26 cases, had transmitted derogatory information to the proper authorities in the State Department years earlier. These people had also appeared before a Federal grand jury in New York which had this derogatory evidence. Yet, it was not until the Internal Security subcommittee brought this information forth in its public hearings in the fall of 1952, that any action was taken to remove these obvious security risks from their positions of trust and influence."

Why Didn't The Grand Jury Indict?

This is worth careful examination. The subcommittee itself merely speaks of these people as "security risks." It does not claim the "derogatory information" went beyond casting doubt on their political reliability. The reference to the grand jury is revealing. The statute of limitations on espionage is 10 years, not three as in the case of ordinary crimes. The atmosphere was far different from that which existed earlier. The grand jury had this "derogatory information" but did not indict.

Chambers first talked in 1939, Elizabeth Bentley in 1945. The persons they mentioned were subject to months and years of surveillance. The surprising thing is that after all these years the subcommittee has no new evidence to offer and rests its case against these and other persons primarily upon their invocation of the Fifth amendment. Some may be guilty of espionage. Some may only be guilty of Communist associations. Some may only be guilty of concluding that in this atmosphere silent discretion was the better part of valor. It is a pity we cannot hire ourselves a Royal Commission and let it dispassionately separate fact from crypto-Fascist fancy.

Retroactive Political Memory

The situation is confused by indications that testimony has been influenced by retroactive political considerations. "In its report on the Institute of Pacific Relations," the Jenner subcommittee says it "showed how a group of these individuals influenced the State Department with disastrous results to American far eastern policy. In the present inquiry we found other nests in the Federal Economic Administration, the Board of Economic Warfare, and those sections of the Treasury which formed American postwar foreign economic policy, particularly with regard to Germany."

The chief targets here, of course, are the so-called Morgenthau plan for Germany and the late Harry Dexter White, who was Morgenthau's Under Secretary. The report says Miss Bentley "gave the subcommittee an extraordinaryily revealing glimpse of how White's hands played with the inner levers of American policy." Here is the testimony, as given in the report:

> Miss BENTLEY. No; the only Morgenthau plan I knew anything about was the German one.
>
> Senator EASTLAND. Did you know who drew that plan?
>
> Miss BENTLEY. Due to Mr. White's influence, to push the devastation of Germany because that was what the Russians wanted.
>
> Senator FERGUSON. That was what the Communists wanted?
>
> Miss BENTLEY. Definitely Moscow wanted them completely razed because then they would be of no help to the allies . . .
>
> Senator EASTLAND. What you say is that it was a Communist plot to destroy Germany and weaken her to where she could not help us?
>
> Miss BENTLEY. That is correct. She could no longer be a barrier that would protect the Western World.

This is certainly reading back into events a picture that was not there at the time. Except for Goebbels, who during the war pictured the Germans as "a barrier that would protect the Western World?" The "Morgenthau Plan" began to be developed on the Western—not the Russian—side as early as the Quebec Conference as a means of preventing the Germans from making war again. The subcommittee report implies that sound policy would have been a negotiated peace with the Germans and an alliance against Russia. This is just what Hitler wanted after Stalingrad.

Half-Truth and Whole Lie

It will be a long time before we can disentangle half-truth and whole lie in the witch hunt. It will also be a long time before we know the full extent of the sinister forces pumping up the Communist bogey beyond all proportions to serve their own purposes. The New Deal was a kind of Popular Front, in which Communists played their part. There were Communists and Communist party-liners in Washington, some in important jobs. Their position, their numbers and their influence are being exaggerated beyond all reason. But the liberal press or what remains of it is too panic-stricken to discuss the report. To disparage Communist influence and power is dangerous, as it was dangerous in an earlier Inquisition to doubt the power and cleverness of the Devil.

This Popular Front, far from overturning the government by force and violence, brought America out of the tailspin of a great depression, made democracy work, proved that social reform was possible by peaceful means—and did so at a time when other countries were turning to dictatorship of right or left. It gave the workers and farmers of America new faith in their country and their society. It taught radicals who came to Washington a new respect for democratic processes as it taught not a few big business men a new respect for the meaning of free government. The "security risk" of having a few Communists or Communist sympathizers in the government was far less than the security risk we would have taken if the American people in 1932 had taken the other road—the road of repression and reaction onto which we are being pushed today.

The purpose of the Jenner report is to defame the memory of a great period in American history; to make Eisenhower a prisoner of the China Lobby; and to intensify that mood of paranoid suspicion, mutual distrust and growing panic so necessary as prelude to Fascism.

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I. F. Stone's Weekly

• *Editor and Publisher,* I. F. STONE

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COMMENT

Labor Day

This issue had to go to be prepared almost a week earlier than usual because of Labor Day and we must leave for later comment the Dulles speech to the American Legion, which makes a successful Korean political conference even less likely than before, and UN Secretary General Dag Hammerskjold's time-serving action in finding it "inadvisable" to obey the Administrative Tribunal order for the reinstatement of four UN employes who invoked the Fifth Amendment. This breaks the new Secretary General's moral backbone at the very outset of his career.

New Kind of Army Maneuvers

It should be comforting to the Russians to know that we not only have enough bombs to blow them to smithereens, but are already training military government occupation teams to pick up the pieces. *The Washington Post* the other day ran a story from Fort Meade, Md., which deserves wider attention. It was headed modestly, "Reservists Train for Political Control of Lands Under Reds."

Some 700 civilian reservists underwent 15 days of military government training at Fort Meade, "wrestling with the problem of establishing a democratic government in 'Country X', hypothetically liberated after years of Soviet domination." This should be quite a wrestle, though "the great bulk of the population is assumed to be friendly toward the United States", no doubt because of the friendly feelings created by fission and fusion bombing.

The exercise was set up and directed by a Colonel Charles H. Kraus, "who in civilian life is a professor of political science in the Foreign Service School at Georgetown University." Another Old Russia Hand helping to direct the liberation maneuvers is Col. Lloyd E. Kelly, who recently retired as deputy chief of the Metropolitan Police Department in Washington.

The military game assumes that these liberation teams are accompanied by members of a government-in-exile, who set up a provisional government until polling booths can be set up. The reservists rise at 5:55 a.m. and "All day long," said the *Washington Post* account, "they issue directives to the residents of 'Country X' or confer with fellow reservists who are acting as members of the civilian government of the country."

Sounds like a cinch. We wonder how Napoleon and Hitler could have slipped up on so simple a military problem.

Understatement-of-the-Week

Faithful readers of the *Weekly* may recall "The Good Old Days Are Back—in FTC at Least" in our No. 12, which dealt with the replacement of crusading ex-newspaperman John Carson by *anti* anti-trust lawyer Everett F. Howrey at the Federal Trade Commission. Howrey as chairman of the FTC has now ousted three of the four economists who wrote that report suggesting that an international oil cartel existed. The comment of retiring FTC Commissioner Stephen J. Spingarn, "This seems like an awful coincidence to me."

Shades of Pretty Adolph!

The German Party, ultra right and anti denazification, drew an audience of only four people to its election rally in a working class suburb of Frankfurt last week. The organizers said they had been secretly told "the Reds" (meaning the Social Democrats principally) had warned the population against coming. "Imagine," said Dr. Heinz Nagel, "that there should be so little tolerance in Germany for other people's views!"

Hat's Off

To that other radical paper, *The Wall Street Journal,* for its leading editorial of August 27 opposing the McCarran bill to compel the testimony of witnesses invoking the Fifth Amendment. The bill need only pass the House at the next session of Congress and we suggest that readers looking for ammunition get a back copy of the *WSJ.* "A rip in the fabric of freedom," *The Wall Street Journal* concluded, "strengthens all those who would destroy freedom. We must contend with Communism now; at some future time our concern could be a despotic-tending State that would use compulsory testimony to its good advantage. And a protection to the individual once removed is never easily reinstated."

Journalistic Footnote

Left-of-centre we seemed to have the field to ourselves last week in telling the story of J. Edgar Hoover's praise for McCarthy and its political implications. *The Nation* and *The New Republic* were mum, as was *Newsweek,* but *Time* also told the story. To fellow publisher, Henry Luce—the Order of the Pebble, First Class.

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JENNINGS PERRY'S PAGE

Airlifted Bibles Could Aid and Comfort Enemy

Let him who is without worries of his own be first to cast the stone of reproach at the State Department for trying to avert its countenance from and wash its hands of the Bible Blitz project, intended to get Holy Writ across to the Godless Reds by balloon. This page for its part cannot in good conscience so stoop but, rather, charitably suggests that in passing the potato to the Germans the Department has shown a concern for consequences heretofore seldom exercised in the prosecution of the Cold War.

I no more than the State Department, of course, mean to impugn the *motives* of the sponsor of the project, the International Council of Christian Churches. Its aim is to be helpful, to supplement our benefactions in Berlin. Man cannot live by bread alone, for a fact, not even free bread; and no matter what the Eisenhower Bundles may do for the material welfare of the hungry Easterners their diet properly can be rounded only by access to food of the spirit.

Nor does one question the purity of the Council's missionary zeal. On that score its assurance to Pres. Eisenhower, on appealing for his "immediate assistance," that the balloons were not to carry any political propaganda should be conclusive. The Bibles and selected quotations to be airlifted have been faithfully printed in Polish, Russian, Czech and Slovak without expurgation or slanted editorial interpolations. The balloons bear only the trademark of their German manufacturers and, though lifted by hydrogen, would not be expected unpleasantly to remind the benighted people among whom they would drift down of recent apocalyptic explosions on both sides of the Iron Curtain.

Just why, indeed, the Council's spokesmen should feel that the promise not to include political propaganda with the Bibles might recommend the project in Washington is hard to say. But in any sympathetic defense of the State Department's reluctance to intervene with German authorities for permission to get the balloons off of the ground it must be pointed out that the Book itself expounds a social theory which has proved highly incendiary in the past, and that the whole well-meant distribution could seriously backfire. The Devil himself, as is well known, is adept at rooting out arguments to his purposes in the Scriptures; and the State Department, already under attack for unimaginative laxity in security matters, would be sorely taxed to justify before Sen. McCarthy even a friendly association with this plan to place such powerful ammunition within reach of the unscrupulous heathen who "hope to wreck our life and freedom."

Beyond doubt these people have a facility of imitation and are quite capable of taking and using our good works, from B-29s to nuclear bombs, and even of improving on them, for evil. Letting them have the Bible would be a great risk since we cannot trust them with anything. Our bread could come back disastrously.

For though providentially the winds do blow from west to east in Europe, the winds also blow from Kamchatka to Kansas, from the unjust to the just, as the Japanese lately demonstrated. The hydrogen balloons blow with them—and apparently in Siberia these people also have hydrogen. Suppose we should find our holy books floating back to us, not clean and unslanted as we sent them out but underscored and red-lettered for propaganda—"He hath made of one blood all nations of men" and "Go and sell that thou hast, and give to the poor?"

Or worse: for these people, we have told ourselves over and over again, have their own profane "Bible." Suppose that, slyly trading on the injunction to "do unto others," they fill *our* air with gift balloons wafting down Karl Marx on our countrysides, our city streets, where anybody, even the children, can read the false doctrines and see what the fuss is about? The police could not hope to suppress all of this matter; the senatorial committees could not possibly purge the libraries fast enough: and the question of true loyalty would have to be extended darkly over the whole of our fair, literate land.

As it is now, the State Department has Mr. Dulles who can recite all the Scripture the Voice of America needs to send across the borders. Mr. Dulles is discreet. He can be trusted never to reveal double-bitted quotations to those who cannot be trusted not to use the other edge. His department simply feels safer, one can understand, not encouraging this flight of uncensored Bibles to the impious.

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